

## Message Text

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UNCLAS STATE 016605 TOSEC 010152

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AGS: SOPN, US, UR, PARM

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT CROSBY S. NOYES OP-ED COLUMN, THE WASHINGTON STAR, THURSDAY, JANUARY 22, HEADED ,DETENTE WORTH THE RISK? KISSINGER SEEMS TO THINK SO."

2. WHATEVER SUCCESS SECRETARY OF STATE KISSINGER ACHIEVES IN THE COURSE OF HIS CURRENT TRIP TO MOSCOW, I SUSPECT IT WILL REPRESENT A VERY MARGINAL POLITICAL DIVIDEND FOR THE ADMINISTRATION. THE LARGE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS HAS LONG SINCE COME TO THE CONCLUSION THAT THE EFFORT TO REACH AGREEMENT WITH THE RUSSIANS ON THE LIMITATION OF STRATEGIC NUCLEAR WEAPONS IS AN EXERCISE IN ESOTERIC NONSENSE THAT HAS LITTLE MEANING IN THE PRACTICAL WORLD.

3. THE PRACTICAL WORLD THINKS IN TERMS OF A REAL LIMITATION OF THE ARMS RACE, OF GREATER OR LESS NATIONAL SECURITY, OF BIGGER OR SMALLER MILITARY BUDGETS. BUT THE MORE THAT IS DISCOVERED ABOUT THE INTERIM SALT AGREEMENT SIGNED BY PRESIDENT NIXON IN 1972 AND THE AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE ON A UNCLASSIFIED

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SECOND PHASE OF SALT WORKED OUT BETWEEN PRESIDENT FORD AND

LEONID BREZHNEV AT VLADIVOSTOK IN 1974, THE LESS REVELANCE  
EITHER OF THESE SEEMS TO HAVE TO THE REAL BALANCE OF POWER

BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION.

4. TO TAKE ONE EXAMPLE, IT WAS AGREED AT VLADIVOSTOK THAT  
EACH SIDE COULD HAVE 2,400 OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR DELIVERY  
VEHICLES. THAT, AT LEAST, IS AN UNDERSTANDABLE CONCEPT,  
EVEN THOUGH THE NUMBER IS GREATER THAN THE PRESENT TOTAL  
ON EITHER SIDE AND FAR HIGHER THAN MOST EXPERTS BELIEVE IS  
NEEDED TO ASSURE MUTUAL DESTRUCTION IN THE CASE OF WAR.

5. BUT NO ONE, IT SEEMS, HAS MANAGED TO DEFINE WHAT AN  
OFFENSIVE NUCLEAR DELIVERY VEHICLE IS. THAT IS THE MAIN  
PURPOSE OF MR. KISSINGER'S LATEST MISSION TO MOSCOW.

6. THE AMERICANS WANT THE RUSSIAN BACKFIRE BOMBER, WHICH  
AT LEAST THEORETICALLY HAS A STRATEGIC CAPACITY, TO BE  
INCLUDED WITHIN THE 2,400-VEHICLE TOTAL. THE RUSSIANS,  
WITH CONSIDERABLY MORE LOGIC, WANT THE AMERICAN CRUISE  
MISSILE INCLUDED WITHIN THE LIMIT. THE CRUISE MISSILE, A  
SUBSONIC PILOTLESS VEHICLE, CAN DELIVER NUCLEAR WARHEADS  
WITH GREAT ACCURACY FROM AIRCRAFT AND SUBMARINES AT A  
RANGE UP TO 1,500 MILES.

7. FEW PEOPLE OUTSIDE OF THE PENTAGON AND THE RUSSIAN  
EQUIVALENT HAVE ANY OVERWHELMING INTEREST IN HOW THE ISSUE  
IS RESOLVED. IF THERE IS ANYTHING LIKE A CONSENSUS, IT  
PROBABLY IS THAT THE 2,400 FIGURE REACHED AT VLADIVOSTOK  
IS QUITE HIGH ENOUGH AND THAT ANY LOOPHOLES THAT PROVIDE  
FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF MORE AND BETTER WEAPONS ABOVE THAT  
FIGURE SHOULD BE CLOSED IF THE AGREEMENT IS TO HAVE ANY  
MEANING AT ALL.

8. HENRY KISSINGER HIMSELF APPEARS TO FEEL THIS WAY. AS  
THE LAST REMAINING AUTHENTIC GURU ON NUCLEAR STRATEGY IN  
THE ADMINISTRATION SINCE THE DEPARTURE OF JAMES SCHLESINGER,  
HE IS A GREAT BELIEVER IN THE IDEA OF SUFFICIENCY IN THE  
MATTER OF STRATEGIC MILITARY POWER. ACCEPTING THAT NEITHER  
SIDE CAN HAVE AN ADVANTAGE THAT CAN BE PSYCHOLOGICALLY  
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SIGNIFICANT IN TERMS OF GLOBAL POLITICS, HE APPARENTLY BE-  
LIEVES THAT THE PRESERVATION OF AGREEMENT AND DETENTE WITH  
THE RUSSIANS, EVEN AT SOME RISK, IS IMPORTANT FOR ITS OWN  
SAKE.

9. IT MAY BE THAT THE AVERAGE AMERICAN IS WAY AHEAD OF  
HIM. THE AVERAGE AMERICAN CAME TO THE CONCLUSION SOME  
TIME AGO THAT NUCLEAR WAR IS SOMETHING THAT HE IS UNLIKELY

TO SURVIVE AND THEREFORE SOMETHING HE CANNOT SERIOUSLY  
PLAN FOR OR WORRY ABOUT.

10. THE CONCERN TODAY IS BEGINNING TO FOCUS ON POWER THAT

IS OUTSIDE THE RANGE OF THE SALT NEGOTIATIONS--POWER THAT IS  
USABLE IN MANY PARTS OF THE WORLD.

11. IN THIS AREA OF CONVENTIONAL MILITARY COMPETITION, THE  
RUSSIANS ARE IN THE PROCESS OF ACHIEVING A POTENTIALLY  
DECISIVE ADVANTAGE. AND ONE WHICH, FAR MORE THAN NUCLEAR  
WEAPONRY, IS LIKELY TO DECIDE THE SHAPE OF THE WORLD A  
DECADE FROM NOW. (END TEXT) ROBINSON

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